

STURCTION COMPANY TO BUILD A LARGE AND MORE COMFORTABLE HOME AT HIS ANCESTRAL VILLAGE OF BUTIAMA, WHERE HE EXPECTS TO SPEND MORE TIME.

3. POSSIBLE SCENARIOS

THE BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY 1977, WHEN THE NEW PARTY IS LAUNCHED, IS BUT ONE POSSIBLE TIME FOR NYERERE TO LEAVE OFFICE. OTHERS INCLUDE THE END OF 1977, AFTER THE NEW PARTY IS UNDERWAY AND ITS OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS HAVE BEEN ELECTED, OR THE END OF NYERERE'S CURRENT PRESIDENTIAL TERM IN 1980. IT IS ASSUMED THAT NYERERE WILL NOT RETIRE FROM THE TANZANIAN SCENE, AND THAT HE WOULD RETAIN THE POSITION OF PARTY PRESIDENT IN THE NEW PARTY TO WHICH, IF HE SO DESIRES, HE WILL BE ELECTED IN FEBRUARY. FIRST VICE PRESIDENT ABOUT JUMBE COULD THEN BECOME PRESIDENT. WE DISCOUNT TALK THAT THE PRESIDENCY WOULD BE ABOLISHED IN FAVOR OF A COLLEGIATE EXECUTIVE OF SOME SORT. THE UNIFICATION OF THE TANU (MAINLAND) AND ASP (ZANZIBAR) PARTIES MAKES POSSIBLE A JUMBE PRESIDENCY. JUMBE'S TRAVELS THROUGHOUT TANZANIA, AND INCREASING INVOLVEMENT IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, SUGGEST HE IS BEING GROOMED FOR HIGHER OFFICE. MAINLAND TANZANIANS DO NOT SEEM TO REACT NEGATIVELY TO THE IDEA OF HAVING A ZANZIBARI FOR PRESIDENT, OR TO JUMBE PERSONALLY.

PRIME MINISTER RASHIDI KAWAWA DOES NOT OFFER JUMBE REAL COMPETITION FOR THE POST. ALTHOUGH NYERERE IS GRATEFUL TO KAWAWA FOR HIS LOYALTY AND PAST SERVICES, KAWAWA IS NOT EFFECTIVE IN HIS PRESENT POSITION AND SEEMS UNLIKELY TO BE TAPPED FOR HIGHER RESPONSIBILITIES.

4. NYERERE'S FUTURE

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PAGE 03 DAR ES 04722 231220Z

FOR NYERERE, LEAVING THE PRESIDENCY WOULD HAVE BOTH ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. HE COULD AT LONG LAST BE MORE FREE TO TURN PERSONAL ATTENTION TO THE COUNTRY'S WORRISOME ECONOMIC SITUATION. AT THE SAME TIME, HE WILL NOT WANT TO RETIRE FROM HIS LEADERSHIP POSITION AS A "FRONT LINE PRESIDENT" FOR THE NEXT STAGE OF THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA FROM MINORITY RULE. TANZANIANS SPECULATE THAT THE SOVIET AND CHINESE PRECEDENTS SUGGEST THAT HE COULD RETAIN THIS ROLE AS A PARTY OFFICIAL. NYERERE MAY NOT YET BE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO ANY COURSE OF ACTION EVEN IN HIS OWN MIND; FEW TANZANIANS EXPECT TO KNOW OF ANY CHANGES BEFORE NYERERE ANNOUNCES HIS INTENTIONS PUBLICLY.

5. COMMENT

WITH GOVERNMENT/PARTY DIRECTED PUBLICITY BUILDING UP IN LOCAL MEDIA REGARDING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FEBRUARY 5 OBSERVANCE, IT WOULD BE REMARKABLE IF NYERERE'S FUTURE DID NOT UNDERGO

INTENSE SCRUTINY BY HIS FEELLOW COUNTRYMEN. NYERERE REMAINS THE UNQUESTIONED LEADER OF TANZANIA THROUGH CAREFULLY NURTURED PERSONAL LOYALTIES AND BENEVOLENT USE OF HIS POWER. MOST TANZANIANS OF ANY POSITION ARE DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT THEY MUST REMAIN IN NYERERE'S GOOD GRACES TO MAINTAIN THEIR STATUS. WITH NYERERE THE RULES WITHIN WHICH LOCAL POWER SEEKERS COMPETE ARE FAIRLY WELL UNDERSTOOD. MOST REGIME STALWARTS WILL THEREFORE REMAIN CHARY OF ADVOCATING NYERERE'S DEPARTURE UNTIL THEY CAN DETERMINE HOW HIS REPLACEMENT WOULD VIEW THEIR PROSPECTS.

FOR WHATEVER IT MAY BE WORTH, ORU VIEW IS THAT NYERERE IS UNLIKELY TO STEP DOWN BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF HIS PRESENT FIVE-YEAR TERM OF OFFICE IN 1980. MANY THINGS UNDERTAKEN BY HIM PERSONALLY ARE STILL TOO UNCERTAIN TO BE HANDED OVER TO A SUCCESSOR WHO WOULD LACK HIS PRESTIGE AT HOME AND ABROAD. IN ADDITION TO THE ENDING OF WHITE GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS OF TANZANIA'S ECONOMY, THESE
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PAGE 04 DAR ES 04722 231220Z

INCLUDE:

-- BUILDING OF THE NEW SINGLE POLITICAL ENTITY -- THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY -- INTO A MORE RESPECTABLE POLICY MAKING ORGANIZATION; AND,
-- MAINTAINING THE HIGH LEVEL OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE VITAL TO THE SURVIVAL OF TANZANIAN SOCIALISM.
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